3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

000 his box and pedal off to the next village. In the afternoon when the
857 children are home from school, the square is filled with the shrill cries of girls playing a Taiwanese version of hopscotch and boys heatedly debating the success of a shot in a marble game.

At the far end of the village, a distance of only a hundred or so yards, there is another open space even more attractive to the children. Since the houses nearby either have enclosed courtyards or no need for drying grounds, the area is seldom inhibited by adults. It is here that the children come to play the more active games of tag, racing, or, if anyone is fortunate enough to have a ball, a version of soccer. One spring evening when an elaborate tag game was enjoying a period of intense popularity, I counted forty wildly racing children among the sober trees and bushes. In one corner is a guava tree, the [245] fruit of which never ripens because the owner can't keep the children from stealing it while it is green. Shinnying up the tree and trying to grab a hard, green fruit before Mrs. Lim comes yelling out of her [775] house is a favorite adventure with a large group of boys. Near the center of the area is what remains of an old mud and wattling pig pen, the one that is reputed to house a ghost with long hair. The ghost's presence does not discourage the children. The ruins are used as a fort, a castle, an ordinary house, and, more frequently, as a testing ground for skill in climbing and for courage in jumping off. Although the yard has several good-sized trees and many scraggly bushes, it is dominated by a venerable, gnarled tree under which are four or five big
824 boulders. Since I found this spot as inviting as the children on a hot day,
776 I soon learned the many legends attached to the old tree. Because of its
[784] extreme age, I was told, it had undoubtedly been a god for many years. A Mrs. Ong, unaware of its high status, had once broken off a limb to
825 chase her ducks. In retaliation the tree-god killed her baby. Another
775 story repeated even more frequently is that the tree houses a huge snake. It is not an ordinary snake but the incarnation of the son of an old man who lives nearby.

As a neighbor told me, "Well, I've never seen the snake myself, but I know lots of people who have. It is really a big one, as big around as your fist. They say it is old Tan's son. He is a man who knows all about gods and bad days and portents, so he ought to know. He saw a little snake under the altar on the night his son was born and then after he got word that his son wouldn't be back from the war, they found this big snake in the tree. Some of the men wanted to kill it

from the other; or if the farmers' association small unit head is from one faction, the vice head is from the other.

Many of the men but only a few women learned some Japanese and several became quite fluent. A Japanese school was established in Pouti near the police station and a small percentage of the villagers, primarily male, were permitted to attend. It appears that although there were increases as time passed, total attendance never exceeded fifty per cent of those in the requisite age groups. Secretly and illegally, a Chinese school was operated in the village but seldom did more than 15 students attend regularly.

Economically, there were many improvements. The narrow path to Hsin Tien soon became a one lane dirt road. Coal mines were started in the immediate area and a very narrow gauge railroad was built from the mines into Hsin Tien just before World War I. Both road and railroad improved communication with Hsin Tien. Tea plantations, common in Northern Taiwan, were introduced to Talei about the time the railroad was built. Citrus orchards started to replace tea during World War II. Improved seed varieties, fertilizer, insecticide, and farming techniques increased agricultural income a great deal. The Japanese introduced farming cooperatives in the nineteen twenties which increased the flow of information to the village.

423 chia of paddy land two years prior to the Land-to-the-Tiller act. Due to its location, they let it out to a tenant and, in turn, rented as tenants an equivalent piece adjacent to their respective main holdings. They lost the purchased piece to the tenant but were unable to claim the rented equivalent piece since it was owned by a small landlord, one with less than 3.0 chia. There were several [601] similar cases in the li. Often there was bitterness generated in the exchanges for the landlord-tenants were sometimes ch'in t'ang (agnatic relatives by virtue of possessing the same surname) and even ch'in tsu (agnatic relatives with demonstrated descent).

311 The second most important category was dry land which was quite fragmented but less so than paddy land. The total of 21.0568 chia is divided into 124 plots for a mean size of .1698 chia. The range is from .0003 chia to 2.5435 chia. The medium of .0435 chia once again indicates most plots are considerably smaller than the mean.

244 This land is devoted primarily to tea, oranges, sweet po-
• 245 tatoes and miscellaneous vegetables. The biggest plot,
311 2.5435 chia, is a single tea farm cultivated by hired labor but owned by a Sanlei villager. Dry land typically is grade 19, less valuable than paddy fields.

311 The third and largest category is mountain or wooded land, 30.2435 chia. Some of this has been left in

824 412 438 brooms. There are no permanent relations established with the city brokers; it is strictly a "price" sale.

437 [824] The rice is used to pay land taxes, to exchange for fertilizer, and for home consumption. Because of the size of the population and the limited area of paddy land, surprisingly little makes its way to the market for cash. Some is exchanged for farm labor at a discount over the rate it can be purchased in town to the benefit of the laborer who feels he gets more for his labor and of the farmer who saves by cutting out the middle man and avoiding transportation expenses. (Labor work groups and exchange labor are discussed more fully in Chapter VI.)

Tea

• 245 [177] Approximately ten years after the Japanese assumed control, tea was introduced into the Talei area from other parts of Northern Taiwan where it was previously well developed. By 1915, there were large harvests in Talei Li. [433] From its inception, tea has been a major cash crop produced for a national and international market. Tea can be grown on the rather steep slope land surrounding the village. All but the shallower slopes are improved by creating a series of steps for the tea plants. Rows of tea plants must be a yard apart, but because of the steepness of the slopes, most steps are only one or two yards wide and therefore, contain only one or two rows per terrace.

245 433 458 Tea was extremely important and valuable in the area during the nineteen twenties and thirties. During World War II, because of the disruption of transportation facilities and Japan's war position, there was serious curtailment of the market causing great losses in the li. There was another spurt following the war for a few years 245 433 439 but again, the area is in a serious tea decline. The villagers believe that Taiwan is not getting its fair share of the world market because the Chinese (Mainlander) quality control system is not as good as that of the Japanese, i.e., they ship inferior products which are labeled superior. There does appear to be some truth in this belief. [662] An official at the farmers' association in Hsin Tien explained that some government inspectors were recently fined for accepting bribes from tea brokers for falsely placing tea in higher grades to obtain better prices. Maintenance of proper quality control is a common problem in Taiwan. Every few months, the newspapers headlined a Japanese rejection of a boatload of bananas from Taiwan because of poor quality.

In spite of quality control problems, the major part of the decline in tea marketing is due to the fact that tea farming requires much labor and Taiwan, with its rapidly growing standard of living and increasing labor costs, is likely to be priced out of the international market as compared with India and Ceylon. Moreover,

245 433 439 242 according to the government, many of the tea plantations are old and degenerate with only a few containing the newest and best varieties of tea. Since a tea plant may remain productive and commercially valuable for 20 to 30 years, tea farming is unresponsive to rapid changes in the world market and requires a considerable investment to substitute improved varieties. Comparatively, if the market drops in asparagus, the farmer simply does not plant it the next year but when a tea plant is set out, it is expected to yield for at least twenty years. Although the government experimental station in Ping Chen (not far from Sanlei) with the help of the J.C.R.R. is promoting an improved type of Assam tea, the variety is not likely to be adopted in Sanlei because of the current replacement of exhausted tea plants with newly developing fruit cultivation to be discussed in the next section.

245 Tea seeds are sown within ten days of the winter solstice, about the middle of December. In about one year, they are one foot high and may be transplanted to the mountain fields, 9000 plants per chia, during the cold weather in December or January. One year later, harvesting may begin but reasonable levels of production will not be realized until the tree is three or four years old. The tea plant has an average economic life of about 25 years but there is a tendency to extend it too far. There are four kinds of leaves to be harvested in a single year.

245 433 According to percentage of yield, they are spring leaves (50%), summer leaves (25%), autumn leaves (20%), and winter leaves (5%). The bulk of the harvesting commences in early April and ends in September. The 9000 trees (one chia) will produce about 1200 chin (1600 pounds) of green leaves in a year and these will be reduced to 300 chin of dry leaves.

245 Maintenance of the tea field features heavy cultivation of the soil around each plant in January and light weeding in March, June, August, and November. Sometimes plants are fertilized but this may be omitted for several years. It is felt that most insecticides would spoil the tea so they are rarely applied. The flowers necessary to produce the highest grade tea (Jasmine) are interplanted between the tea bushes.

[242]

245 462 In contrast with rice production which is primarily a man's task with the occasional help of women, tea production is primarily a woman's task with the occasional help of men on the basis of total man hours committed. Men do the heavy cultivation and the planting and transplanting. The first task is male because of the previous standard based on how heavy a task is rated and the latter two because tasks which require high levels of technical skill and knowledge are always male. Work which can be learned with little effort and requires few important decisions is assigned to women. Women do most of the weeding

245 although occasionally men may help. Only women harvest
462 tea and a man who harvested would be a source of much amusement. Even boys, although they do some work normally
465 performed by women, never harvest tea. Harvesting is
245 compensated on a piece-work basis, $5.00 for each 4 chin of tea leaves. The best girl could pick close to 30 chin in a day but this would be a day of hard work from early
[562] morning to late evening. Since a man's normal wage for weeding is $50.00 and a woman's is $30.00, any man picking tea on a piece-work basis would earn closer to $30.00 than $50.00 and would thusly, be considered to be working for woman's wages.

465 There now seems to be something sacrosanct about
562 the $50.00 wage for an experienced man. Good and poor workers both get the same $50.00 for a day's labor, but the best workers are able to obtain work more frequently. Women, for other than piecework, get $30.00 per day but this rate is subject to some bargaining. A couple of skilled village women earn as much as $35.00 or $40.00 per
465 day for some tasks. Boys earn less than women receiving
561 little increments of increase as they mature until reaching women's wages and slightly beyond. There are seldom any increments between $35.00 and $50.00, the latter step achieved in a sudden single jump when a boy becomes a
[884] fully-fledged man. There is no clear-cut life cycle event to mark this stage which is not directly related to

465 chronological age and varies with the physiological matur-
561 ity of the individual and his ability to demand this level
[884] of respect from village men. However, it is hard for a young man to get much work for although he must be paid an experienced man's wage, he lacks both experience and reputation.

• 245 After tea leaves are picked, they are spread out in
463 large shallow round bamboo baskets to dry and then sold to one of the five tea processors in Talei Li, seldom to outsiders. Three processors operate in Sanlei and two in Erhlei although one of the Sanlei processors is now quite inactive, only processing tea grown in his own fields.
[477] Competition between processors is quite fierce but not on a price basis. Relations are built up between processor and farmer and tend to last a long time (see Chapter VI).
245 Tea processing is primarily a man's task. Different kinds
[462] of tea are produced dependent on the amount or lack of fermentation, the types of leaves, and the additives: green, red (black), and jasmine and in two or three grades each. The hard part of the work is maintaining the fires as the leaves are roasted in large metal tins. After
[462] roasting, the leaves are placed back in the drying baskets
[887] for sorting, another task for women, but in this case, old woman. The work is tedious but not hard and can be learned
[465] with a half-hour's instruction. On a piece-work basis, an old woman can easily earn $20.00 to $25.00 per day.

462 involving females spread with it. When it first came to
463 Talei Li, village women began to be employed in tea activities but for the busiest harvesting season, girls were brought to the area in work teams, some from as far as Mainland China. There were many tales told by village men about their sexual exploits with the tea girls who usually stayed in crude huts in the mountains during the busy harvesting season. In the late nineteen-thirties, the outside girls began to be slowly replaced by village women to the point that no outside teams have been used since 1949. This change keeps the wages in the village and also helps allow village women to be economic assets.

Oranges

• 245 The third major cash crop in the area is citrus
433 fruit, primarily oranges, but with a minor emphasis on pomelo. The potential income has not yet been realized in spite of heavy investments. As additional mountain land is developed or as old tea plants have expired, orange trees are planted. In the early nineteen-forties, tea profits were poor and tea farmers were searching for a new product with the help of the government. A Sanlei villager acquired knowledge of the techniques of growing oranges by working five years in an orchard 30 miles south of Taipei. When he returned to Sanlei, he wanted to try raising
[111] oranges himself. The Japanese aided introduction of oranges by renting him a piece of mountain land at a very low

245 433 [177] rate and by paying half the cost of his first transplanting of 50 seedlings (trees about 25" high) in 1943. Because there is a long period between the planting of a seedling and first sale of oranges, it took a very long period before other villagers followed his example and as late as 1966, only a minority of the orchards were in full mature production although many others are rapidly approaching maturity.

New products are rarely adopted until farmers can observe the financial returns and since it takes a heavy investment in cash and labor over a long period of time before any reasonable return is achieved with orange orchards, the diffusion process has been slow.

245 In January of the first year, seeds are cast in seedling beds which have been well prepared by intermixing earth and night soil. Weeding is continued monthly during the first year with careful light applications of fertilizer in March and June and insecticide when needed. In November, a second bed is prepared for the seedlings which are transplanted in December when about 14" high. During the second year, they are fertilized four times, sprayed with insecticide once every two months, and weeded once every two months, the latter two in alternate months. In January of the third year when seedlings are about 30 to 36 inches high, the upper part is cut off and a branch from a good mature tree is grafted in its place. Ten days

245 later, all but the main bud are trimmed off. Activities during the balance of the year include monthly applications of fertilizer and insecticide and bimonthly weeding. In November, the beds are prepared with the holes four to six yards apart and the final transplanting is accomplished within ten days of the winter solstice. Aside from extra watering the first few weeks after transplanting to supplement the rain, the routine of care remains the same throughout the life of the tree. The ground is cultivated once per year and both weeded and fertilized twice each year in February and August. Insect control is monthly in the warm weather as needed but rarely less than three times a year.

Trees start bearing fruit the seventh year. The major harvesting months are in November, December, and January, starting when tea harvesting slackens and ending about the time when the paddy fields should be prepared. 245 433 The 7th year the 60 trees which fill one chia of land will produce about 500 chin of oranges and the 8th, 2000 chin. Full mature production commences the ninth or tenth year and dependent on insects, disease, and weather, production 245 242 will range from 8,000 to 12,000 chin per chia. Diseases and insects have only become problems since the increased [474] amounts of land have been devoted to oranges. The farmers' association provides expert advice in dealing with problems as they arise, but officials in the Hsin Tien office

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474 are not sure that they can control all potential problems.

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474 Almost all the oranges not used in home consumption are sold through the Fruit Cooperative Association in Pan Chiao. They may be delivered to a warehouse there or to one in Taipei. All orange growers belong to the cooperative and the li has three representatives on its board of
435 control. The price received is dependent on grade (size) and quality and ranges from $2.50 to $4.00 per chin with an average of $3.00.

245
433 As can be seen by the above time sequence, it takes a considerable investment before any return is achieved. Land must be purchased and taxes paid each year for eight years or rent must be paid for the same period without income. At the same time, substantial labor inputs are required for transplanting, weeding, fertilizing, and insect control and cost of insecticide and fertilizer is not inconsequential. Much of the savings from the increased yields for other crops and from non-farm employment is being devoted to orchard development with high returns expected, just around the corner.

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462 Orange orchards are reasonably new and a firm tradition with regard to the division of labor has not yet crystallized as it has for most other village tasks. Transplanting and fertilizing is strictly a male operation as is all skilled farming. Although males and females alike weed and pick oranges, females are beginning to

perform a majority of the weeding. For a day's weeding, a man earns $50.00 and a woman, $30.00 but a man does not appear to pull two-thirds more weeds in a day than a woman although that is the wage differential. Both men and women work on their own fields, but if someone is hired to weed, it is now likely to be a female or a boy who earns wages equal to the women's level. Harvesting is neither heavy nor hard, and because it is compensated at piece-work rates, neither sex yet seems to be favored. Once again, marketing and dealing with the cooperative is strictly for men. Harvesting oranges takes place when the tea harvesting is at its slackest period and therefore, introduction of citrus orchards has made it possible for Talei women to earn income during the entire year.

Miscellaneous Cash Crops

There are currently no other important commercial food crops grown in Sanlei Ts'un. During our study, two of the most progressive farmers in the village, brothers in a divided household previously introduced in connection with the plot of land which was lost during the land reform program, made their first try with 600 banana trees. Returns have been good for two other villages about three miles away. The younger brother's son was sent to observe methods in one of the two villages at the farm of a ch'in ch'i (affinal relative) and the family

245 consulted with extension agents and the farmers' association. Other villagers are watching closely.

244 242 474 The village is close to Taipei and seemingly could share in the truck garden market, but no village in the immediate area other than one village, about two miles distant, participates. The latter was chosen by the farmers' association in Hsin Tien as a model village for vegetable production. After seeds, assistance, and guidance were provided by three technological experts who were assigned nearly full-time, the returns have been very high. The experts have withdrawn except for one who returns periodically for consultation as the innovated system is now self-generating. That is, it appears the village will continue to raise vegetables for the market without further stimulation.

Other villages have observed the techniques of growing and marketing vegetables but there has yet been little diffusion. The techniques are considered complex, the dangers of market fluctuation high, and the experience regarding potential damages by insect and weather nonexistent. There is interest however and the passage of time is likely to result in copying.

241 463 As can be seen in the detailed descriptions provided for growing other crops, farm technology is highly complex and villagers regard a skilled farmer as a master of a trade. Although anyone can do some farming tasks,

000 is trying to raise pigs for a profit.

262 443 One slaughtered pig is returned daily to Erhlei for local consumption. Both stores in Erhlei but neither of the stores in Sanlei sell pork although Sanlei stores do sell dried fish and canned fish or canned meat. Ignoring the few people who bring meat home from the city, one pig is sufficient daily for about 150 families. The daily consumption for a family of six (average) would rarely exceed one or one and a half chin (less than two pounds) except on special occasions.

Wood

• 245 313 Wood is another agricultural profit-making product that grossly falls under the rubric of agriculture because the trees are cultivated rather than natural. Tree seedlings are transplanted in December or January and then cultivated each August and weeded each January during the first five years. They then require little subsequent care. They are cut when about one or two inches in diameter for firewood for cooking. Some wood is used right after cutting although most is left to dry out first.

314 About thirty per cent is converted into charcoal by specialists in another village just down the road on the way

313 443 to Hsin Tien. There are two lumber yards there which regularly buy wood at a standard set price if it is transported to the door. The piles in the two yards can be seen from the bus window so that everyone knows when they

183 The above discussion may falsely suggest an idyllic
476 view of life in Sanlei, all peace and harmony, whereas
621 actually, there are many violations of the underlying
626 principles such as have already been pointed out, i.e., the man who refused to accept a consensus, and others will be discussed later. The man who refused to contribute his proper share to the temple committee has a reputation for cheapness, has a little more difficulty hiring workers during the busy season (his bonus of a meal is considered likely to consist of poor and cheap food), and he was insulted in public by the gods at the last major celebration (see Chapter VII). The mayoral candidate who refused to cooperate with the general consensus was badly defeated for mayor and also for the next office for which he campaigned.

The Fruit Cooperative

494 Taiwan has six Fruit Cooperatives, primarily market-
• 245 ing organizations although minimal levels of guidance and
[m] assistance are also provided. These cooperatives are all continuations of Japanese-established organizations. Talei Li belongs to the Ch'i Chang branch, one of six branches in the Taipei Fruit Cooperative which specializes in citrus fruit.

As farmers in Talei Li have taken up citrus cultivation, they have regularly joined the association.

474 Currently, the 66 members, 31 from Sanlei, constitute an
• 245 all-time high reflecting the previously described change to citrus cultivation. Four representatives serving three-year terms represent Talei Li, one from T'oulei, one from Erhlei, and two from Sanlei, another equal balance of factions. These representatives meet with others in Ch'i Chang to elect 20 of their members to represent them at the Taipei (main) level. At the Taipei level, 111 representatives elect a 25 man board which selects the general manager.

The fruit cooperatives are much larger than farmers' associations, the election process is more indirect, and the organization is less responsive to its membership. However, its management has generally been excellent, distributed profits are good, and marketing is efficient. No Talei citrus farmer has failed to join the cooperative and each markets most of his crop through the association.

Education

872 Talei Li has its own six-year primary school located in Erhlei. Under Japanese rule, students walked to the Pouti school. In 1955, a branch of the Pouti school was established in the li, and in 1964, it was granted independence. Currently the school has a principal, twelve teachers, and a janitor. There is no clerk but one will be added when the school gets bigger. Two hundred Talei

462 day rarely varying. Each of the seven groups has a con-
476 stant nucleus although a number of other women attach
296 themselves to each group periodically. If a woman is ill for a couple of days or more, her washing responsibilities will be borne by a kinswoman in her household; if she is not in an extended family, by a fellow member of her regular wash group.

462 There are three groups of women who grade tea on a
476 piece-work basis. They work for any tea processor who
245 requires sorting as there is no necessary relationship between a particular processor and a particular work group. The goal is to sort the leaves (high grade) from the twigs, pieces, and stems (low grade) in a flat bamboo basket, six feet in diameter, which holds processed tea. Four to six women can sit around the basket and sort together while chatting but, of course, it is also
[465] possible to work alone. The work is easy and with a half-
[883] hour's instruction, anyone can earn $2.00 to $3.00 per hour on a piece-work basis. This activity is usually performed by old women and occasionally by very young girls. Three groups of old women constitute the regular work teams, sharing equally in the piece-work income although quite aware that some women work faster than others. They work out in the courtyard when the weather is nice and in anyone's house who has space when it is cold or wet.

There are two other important income-earning work activities usually performed only by women, tea picking

462 on a piece work basis and orange-orchard weeding on a daily
476 rate. Both pay more than tea grading and are much harder,
• 245 employing young to middle-age married women. Once again, this is usually performed by regular recurrent groups although income is not shared. Employers from the village our outside hire a group by contacting one member of the group most of whom have one informal leader, an aggressive type in her forties who plans work ahead of time. She earns no extra money but seems to enjoy the power and prestige. Some individuals are hired as individuals and for smaller jobs, teams often break up into sub-units or even individuals.

562 Income from any of the above sources belongs to the
434 woman's family unit as does men's income. However, two
476 sources of income are not shared with the family and are
291 considered the personal resources of females: that derived
412 from making brooms and straw hats. This can be done only
42 in leisure time when other work is not expected, i.e., the time between cleaning up the dinner dishes and going to bed. Once more, some women work individually, but others jointly cooperate and share income.

462 There are other kinds of shared work activities
476 which are not involved with income, the housework such as cooking and cleaning as well as tending children. It was previously pointed out that women in extended families frequently share work or take turns and some women who are friends and neighbors often do the same. There are many

462 real support for the many village men who are full t'me
464 farm laborers or who are partially farm laborers and
476 partially tenants or owner-operators.

Tea Processors

245 There are three tea processing households in
472 Sanlei. One processor owns much land which he operates
627 almost totally with hired labor and processes little
[511] more than his own tea. Fifteen years ago he was caught using false weights to buy tea leaves from Sanlei farmers and villagers have never trusted him since. He and his wife are isolated from the rest of the village in social terms and both of their children are living and
[201] working in Taipei. The couple are reasonably well-off financially by village standards and own the second village television set which they watch alone without guests. Just about everyone else in the village watches the television set owned by the village store.

245 The other two processors pay identical prices
472 and offer identical services and share most of the rest of the village tea production except that part
[477] sold to a processor in Erhlei. Although each processor would like a larger share of the business, competition is on the basis of establishing good relations with sellers (farmers) rather than on service or price. One processor is named Liao and had the major share of business in the past. The other is named Chiu.

245 472 602 The Chiu family has produced a large crop of daughters in recent years who have married into Liao families and Chiu has subsequently been getting a larger share of business recently from ch'in ch'i (affinal relatives). Both processors have kinship relationships with many tea farmers, their own customers and their competitor's customers as well. Although kinship identities are only one aspect of the relationship (other aspects include such as sworn brothers, mutual friends, etc.), it is possible to approximately assess the relative strength of various kinship categories. That is, a man seldom will sell to another processor if his father, brother, father's brother, or mother's brother is a processor. However, he usually sells to his wife's father or wife's brother rather than a more distant kinsman on his own side of the family, i.e., a first or second cousin. As Chiu girls marry Liao boys, there is usually no immediate change, but as time passes so that a new generation takes over management of farm and processing from the old generation, some Chiu girls bring their Liao husband's tea production into the Chiu processing business.

245 472 Both processors periodically entertain the farmers with whom they do most of their business. The tea farmers are divided into two groups, so to speak, each focusing on the respective processor to whom they sell most of their tea leaves.

461 over extended periods of time. Functionally, there is like-
182 ly to be some culturally specified alternative to provide such a proportion of relief time from a potential seven-day work week at twelve hours per day, a period for renewal and relaxation. In China, the traditional alternative is provided through religion as it is in many other parts of the world. Due to the nature of all functional explanations, it is not possible to specify why some other alternative could not have served as an adequate substitute.

The Yearly Work Cycle

316 Those work activities unrelated to agriculture are
221 spread relatively evenly across the year. For example, mining is approximately the same all year, only slightly higher production is required during the cold weather.
221 Listed below by month is the yearly cycle of agricultural
241 activities with an approximate indication of the general need for labor. In order to promote continuity, the cycle is started with February which comes closest to marking a natural starting point.

243 February--Busy. Prepare paddy fields and transplant
245 rice seedlings. Fertilize orange orchards.

221 March, April--Light. Fertilize and weed paddy fields twice. Prepare rice seed bed for second crop. Weed tea plants and commence heaviest harvest. Weed orange trees and apply insecticide.

May, June, Early July--Very Busy. Harvest first rice crop. Prepare paddy fields and plant second crop. Weed tea fields and continue harvest. Weed orange trees, fertilize, and apply insecticide.

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221 Late July, August, September--Light. Fertilize, weed, and apply insecticide to paddy fields twice. Fertilize and cultivate orange orchards. Weed tea fields and continue harvest.

[244] October, November--Very Busy. Harvest second rice crop. Prepare fields and plant vegetables. Complete last small harvest of tea.

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245
221 December and January--Moderate. Harvest vegetables and oranges. Plant and transplant tea bushes and orange trees.

241 The above schedule provides a general picture of the agricultural activities devoted to the major crops but there are 244 many other minor crops which are not listed. Vegetables are planted, fertilized, weeded, and harvested during various periods all year around. For example, onions and leeks are planted and harvested during nine different months of each 313 year. Finally, during any slack period, trees may be cut down and left on the ground in open piles until sufficiently dry to be carried down the mountainside for home consumption or sale.

182 Currently, the ecological adjustment is such that 464 the demand for labor is spread relatively evenly over the entire year. There are now only two periods lasting a total of about eight weeks when there are serious labor shortages and conversely, only about six or seven weeks when there is a moderate to heavy labor surplus.

178 When the village was first established, the main 244 crops were subsistence vegetables and paddy rice. Rice pro- 243 464 duction in a double cropping area necessarily involves large seasonal variations in the demand for labor.

178 Tea was added later and since the demand for labor
• 245 inputs in tea production tend to occur during relatively
464 slack periods in the cycle of rice production, tea helped even out the demand for labor.

Oranges, which were added more recently, are a second leveling factor in the seasonal labor demands because the date when most required work such as fertilizing, spraying with insecticide, and weeding must be completed is not cru-
[293] cial to eventual production quantities. This technology is unlike that for rice which permits few delays in many steps without serious reduction in the eventual size of the harvest. The only requirement in citrus cultivation for large prompt labor inputs comes during the harvest season which falls in December and January when both rice and tea cultivation activities are either non-existent or are at their slackest periods.

178 This ecological and technological adjustment has
562 been a prime factor contributing to the elevation of the
464 status of women. Some agricultural tasks such as tea pick-
[245] ing and tea sorting are considered appropriate only for
[462] women, and other tasks such as orange orchard weeding are
[314] considered appropriate for either men or women. Because there are jobs such as coal mining readily available for mature men in the immediate area around the village, there has been little surplus of male labor exerting pressure to
[288] replace women with men. In the younger age groups, the